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These natives do not eat it, as do others elsewhere,
but they amuse themselves by catching one and trailing it round 136
the village on the end of a string, to a chant of 'Tin-tin-tarum, [524]
tin-tin-ta-a-a-a-a-rum'.

The only domestic animals are dogs and pigs. There are no 231
transport animals, no cattle, and no sheep. A horse was imported during my stay for the use of the priest; it caused great excitement among the Kurtatchi people, who called it *wōs*, having no *h* in their dialect. The dogs, every variety of mongrel, are valued in proportion to their prowess in hunting, and are kept on short rations to make them fierce. The domestic pigs are of the black-skinned, long-snouted variety, and do not differ in appearance from the wild pigs that roam the bush. They are known to their owners individually, are treated as pets, and come to be fed when called.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF THE NATIVES

In the present volume only a brief general account of the per- 142
sonal appearance of the people will be given, as their racial type will be discussed in detail in another publication, in conjunction with the analysis of my series of physical measurements and observations.

The natives of Buka and North Bougainville differ in several respects from their near neighbours, the inhabitants of the south-eastern Solomon Islands. The most obvious difference is in the very much darker skin colour of the northern group, of whom the majority are as nearly black as human skin ever attains. Some [517]
individuals, however, possess skins of a somewhat lighter colour with a slightly reddish tinge; this is much admired. The eyes are invariably dark brown. The hair is either black or very dark brown. It usually stands out from the head in a frizzly mop, like that of the natives of New Guinea, but less striking because it is kept shorter. If left uncombed and uncut, as in the case of boys [88]
who have not finished their puberty ceremonies, it hangs in a series 302
of tight ringlets and may reach below the waist (see Pl. 29). Curly and wavy hair is sometimes seen, and occasionally hair that is almost straight. Facial hair is sparse and bristly. I did not see any natives with a full beard, but some keep a little hair on the upper lip. The majority depilate their facial hair by means of a 302
shell (probably a species of *Tapes*, Pl. 38, no. 7), either a single one used like a razor, or a double one used like a pair of tweezers. They

1/2 [i.e., the large, coconut-eating land-crab (Birgus latro?). – Analyst]

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302 hold this in one hand and work it very quickly, using neither water nor soap. Some use bits of broken glass when they can get them. Nowadays a few of the younger men have razors, which they use dry in the same manner. Body hair may be almost entirely absent or quite plentiful, with all intermediate conditions. An unusually hairy individual is shown in Pl. 78. Body hair is not depilated.

The features vary greatly, especially the nose. Besides the flat bridge and broad nostril of the Negroid type, there will not uncommonly be seen a nose with a high bridge and a pronounced profile. Some people have a peculiar curl of the nostrils which gives an almost Jewish appearance to the face. This was noticed by Guppy (1887, p. 216) and has been the subject of comment by many observers. The majority of people are only moderately prognathous, but extreme prognathism is sometimes seen, while a few are almost orthognathous. The lips are thick, but usually not everted as in the Negro.

In general these people are of medium height. The arms and legs are long in proportion to the length of the trunk. They are almost without exception spare of build, and usually very thin. I saw no men who could be described as stout, and only two or three women; these were stocky rather than actually fat. One girl with a tendency to plumpness was much teased by her companions, who called her 'Porjot'—'Fatty'. She seemed to take it in good part.

[164] The children are nearly all pot-bellied, owing to malarial enlargement of the spleen; the condition is temporarily exaggerated by a full meal. In both sexes the body musculature is well developed, but the extremities are thin, particularly the legs, which have often a stick-like appearance, due to poor development of the muscles of the calf. The hips are slender, this being particularly noticeable in the younger women, and the buttocks are often very prominent in both sexes. Both men and women have an erect carriage, and many are very graceful in their movements.

144 There is no appreciable amount of white blood in the veins of these natives up to the present time. The very few individuals who possess it, all of whom are known to everybody in the neighbourhood, are either mission teachers or store assistants, and have come, 144 with their wives, from other islands. The local natives definitely deprecate admixture. The men do not permit their women to go 166 as servants to the white settlers, as the women of other islands are

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is not told anything about the betrothal. It is usual for the father of a boy who is *tsunaun* to choose for his son's first wife a girl who is his equal in rank, but there appears to be no hard and fast rule on the subject. A *tsunaun* girl may be betrothed to a commoner if her mother agrees, but this is somewhat unusual, as it involves the handing over, at a later stage in the negotiations, of a larger amount of ceremonial currency than a commoner is likely to have at his disposal.

At the time arranged the boy's mother goes to the girl's village, taking with her some leaves of the plant called *unun*, which were used for women's girdles before they possessed loin-cloths, and the variegated leaves of *iag* (*Coleus Blumei var.*). This plant is grown along with taro in the gardens and is supposed to ensure a good crop, so it is possible that the use of its leaves in betrothal may have some reference to the bride's future fertility, but my informants did not say so. It is used also in the ceremony for a pregnant woman (see p. 142). The boy's mother decorates the girl with these leaves, putting some round her neck and some round her waist. The two mothers chew the betel-mixture together. Except for this, nothing is eaten at this part of the proceedings, and there is no dancing. Word goes round to all the villages that the girl is betrothed, so that no one else will try to get her. But she still remains with her mother, and does not go near the boy's village as yet.

When she is about seven or eight ('as big as Kiram's wife Buin', who is about that age), the boy's mother goes to the girl's village and paints the girl's hair with *oin*. If the boy's mother is dead his mother's sister undertakes this duty. When she has finished painting the girl's hair, she may, if she wishes, take the girl home with her. She first chews the betel-mixture with the girl's mother, and fixes a time for her to come and visit her daughter. The girl then accompanies her future mother-in-law home, and the boy now sees his bride for the first time. This first meeting is called *homun*. The girl goes inside the boy's mother's hut, but she stays near the women's entrance, and does not go near his bed (if he has not yet put on the *tapi* and is therefore still sleeping there). She must not speak to the boy; the two are very shy with one another.

After three or four days agreed upon have passed, the girl's mother comes to the boy's village, accompanied by other women from her own village. Any woman who wishes may join in this

583 strings were shared. This occasion was comparatively devoid of ceremony, because the girl was a commoner.

583 565 Up to the time when the strings of *imun* are hung up from the roof of the hut, a girl who is *tsunaun* must remain inside. Her mother has painted her hair with red and black paint (*oin* and [302] *tʃina*), in alternate stripes. If she belongs to the clan Naboin the paint is put on in many narrow stripes, to represent a *sui*, a kind [614] of sea-urchin. If she belongs to the clan Nakaib she has a broad black stripe on each side of her head and a red one in the centre. I could get no explanation of the difference in the patterns, except that they 'belonged to' the respective clans. The *sui* is not a totem. *Beroan* and *imun* belonging to her own people are put on her wrists, and her *ruanbē* (husband's mother) or some one chosen by her, usually the girl's *tauwē* (husband's sister) puts more paint on her hair, on the top of the *usbag* pattern that had previously been put on, so that her head is heavy with paint. Then the *imun* and *beroan* are taken off her wrists and given back to her mother. The strings of currency which were hung up over the *tagoan* are taken down, and all the guests, both men and women, go into the hut, and eat the food that has been provided by the girl's mother. When all have eaten their fill, they go outside, except the boy's mother, who remains inside, looking for a chance to give to the girl's mother a string of *imun* and one of *beroan* which she kept back for the purpose, when the rest of the currency was hung up at the *tagoan*. This is for the girl's mother personally. She does not get any of the strings which were hung up, they go to the girl's *tsoa* and other relatives on both sides of the house. The boy's mother must give these personal strings to the girl's mother secretly, when no one is looking. When she has done so, the two mothers join the rest of the party outside the hut, and all the guests are given food to take back with them in the *kōbū* they have brought on purpose. They get taro, 'possum, pig, *mmak*, all in large quantities.

583 1565 482 The girl must now go back with her husband's people. But if she is *tsunaun* she is not allowed to walk, so a man who belongs to the same clan as her husband takes her up pick-a-back. If she is small and light she is carried thus all the way to her husband's village, but if she is heavy she is carried only for a short distance outside her own village and then set down. So she comes to the 583 boy's village, and there she must now remain. Once the currency 574 has been handed over, she cannot go back to her mother any more

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except for a visit. Whenever she does this, her mother must always make some *menak* and bring it back with the girl, whom she must escort in person.

After one of these visits to her mother a further ceremonial gift is made by the girl's mother to the boy's people. On her return she is accompanied by a number of women from her own village, bringing *menak* and taro, both cooked and raw. A few men accompany them, carrying a pig, which must be alive. Some ceremonial currency is also brought; the amount varies and is apparently immaterial. In the two cases personally known to me, for Tchawawan two fathoms of *imun* and one of *beroan*, for Tagoal one of *imun* and one of *beroan* were brought.[1] On this occasion the girl and the women who accompany her come round to the front of the boy's mother's hut and go in by the men's entrance (*tagoan*), never used by women in the ordinary way. The pig is brought as payment for the privilege of using the front part of the house. If no pig were forthcoming, whenever the boy's mother was angry with the girl she would taunt her with it, saying: 'Why does this woman sit down in my *tagoan*? What did you bring me? Your people did not bring me a pig to eat, you have not paid for my *tagoan*.' That is why they bring a pig. If it were not done, the wife could not go into the front portion of the hut, and she would not be allowed to perform certain personal services for her husband, such as cutting his hair and putting paint on it in preparation for ceremonies or dancing. Tagoal remained with Kiram's people for four weeks after this ceremony.

During the next few years the girl spends much of her time with her husband's people, living in her mother-in-law's hut, and working for her. But if the boy is still wearing the *upi* she must not speak to him, though she may do him small services. The boy's mother says to her: 'Do not be shy of your husband. If I am not here when he asks for taro, you go and give it to him.' (A boy wearing the *upi* is allowed to come to the door of his mother's hut to fetch the taro she has cooked for him, but he may not enter it.) In the case of a girl married to a man who already has a wife and a hut of his own, she lives in his hut and helps his other wife, but the marriage is never consummated during this period. Takon,

[1] The strings of *beroan* worn by Tagoal in the photograph (Pl. 7a) were all taken off before her relatives went home, and put on a much smaller girl in the party, who wore them back to Ruri.

[Cat. 116) facing p. 87. - Haddon]

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aromatic leaves. Then they bring it into the village and put it in the hut of the boy's mother. The boy's mother catches a pig and cooks it. The men and women who helped with the platform must be given pig to eat all together. The platform is laid down inside the house.

Then all the women who stand in the relation of *watʃitʃio* to the boy (see Chap. II, p. 68, for this relationship) go and lie on the platform in couples, holding each other fast. Each couple pretends to be husband and wife, who play at copulating with each other. When one couple has been lying on the platform for a while they get up and another pair take their places, till all the boy's *watʃitʃio* have taken part in the performance.

When this is finished, all the men and women of the boy's village adorn themselves with paint and put on the mark called *wakai*—a line of white outlining the edge of the hair and the forehead. Then they all go to the girl's village. They *kōma* along the road. The people of the girl's village have been similarly adorning themselves and they also *kōma*. They ornament the girl with the *wakai* line and with a clam-shell nose ornament, and hang strings of *beroan* across her shoulders and round her waist.

The people from the boy's village reach the girl's village just after dark. They *kōma* as they come. They join in the *kōma* at the girl's village. All the people of both villages stand up together and *kōma*. But the boy and the girl do not join in it, they hide in different huts, and are not allowed to come out. The boy's mother joins in the *kōma*, but the girl's mother stays with her daughter inside her own hut. This goes on all night.

Just before dawn breaks, one of the girl's male relatives takes up the boy on his shoulder (*watok*). This duty must not be performed by the girl's *tsoa*, who is *waris* to the girl's husband and cannot touch him. It is usually undertaken by one of the men who will be *tauwō* to the husband, i.e. his wife's brother, blood or classificatory. He is assisted by men of the boy's clan, who place their hands under the boy's buttocks and take some of the weight. The corresponding relative of the boy, who is *tauwō* to the girl, i.e. her husband's sister, takes up the girl on her shoulders in the same way, and is similarly assisted by members of the girl's clan. The heads of both boy and girl are ornamented with cock's feathers, and strings of *beroan* are hung across their shoulders. *Beroan* is also hung over both the wrists of the boy, but not of the girl.

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had two children. Pinari married her after Soli's death, and took one child. The other is being looked after by Soli's people at the village of Ruri. No children by Pinari.

11. Sang. Widow of Boie, son of Pinari's mother by another husband. At Boie's death Pinari took her according to custom. She has one child, whom Pinari also took. Pinari said she had no children by him 'yet'. She was still wearing her hair in the fashion of widows when I came to the village, but cut it while I was there. I think Boie had been dead for about a year.

At the time of my visit, Pinari was negotiating for a girl at the village of Ieta, on Buka, from which his first wife came. He had been over several times to try to get her, but she did not want him and always ran away into the bush. Her family were in favour of the match, so he probably got her in the end, but they were not forcing her. One night a storm blew down a large tree in the near neighbourhood of the village, blocking the road to it. Pinari told me that he was sure it was caused by magic made by Gomar to spite him, because she was angry that he wished to take another wife.

While he quite clearly prefers Kwimau to any of the others, Pinari pays quite a lot of attention to all his wives, and to their children, whether they are his own or belong to a former husband. He is generous with tobacco, and when he goes to a plantation to sell copra he often brings them some little present from the store.

As a further example of the marriages that take place among these people, I give the history of Sobak, who is a commoner.

Marital history of Sobak

1. Sobak's first wife was Sieli, to whom he was betrothed when both were young. They had no children for some time, then there was a son, who is now about ten. Sieli has been dead for some years.

2. His second was Niwuts, whom he married when he was older but she quite a child. He divorced her 'because she had a sore' (probably a tropical ulcer, these being frequent and often very bad in this region). He told me that he said to her: 'You go back to your own village, I don't want to be married to you.' There were no children. She now lives alone at Gowē, a village farther down the coast. She has not remarried.

3. His third, with whom he lives at present, is Tsonakets, who was previously divorced from Tskoi of Hanahan (a village on the east coast of Buka), for what reason I do not know. Tskoi told Sobak he could have her if he liked. Sobak consulted Pinari, who approved, and had her brought over to Kurtatchi. She has a son, now in his teens, whom

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843 the appropriate time which I could obtain was that it took place 'when the woman's belly has grown large'. The first part of it was performed for Sacsac at Kurtatchi on March 13; her baby was born on April 30. Her mother, with whom she was staying, decided when it should be done.

843 A man is sent out into the bush to catch a young opossum. It must be brought to the village alive. Then a woman takes hold of
825 the live opossum and rubs its back against the abdomen of the
842 expectant mother. No particular woman, relative or otherwise, was specified as suitable for this duty, but in the case of Sacsac it was performed by her mother. It must be done just before sunrise. After rubbing the animal up and down several times against the woman's abdomen, the operator lets it fall to the ground. This represents the birth of the child. The people standing round ask: 'What sort of child is it?' If the opossum is a male, the woman says: 'It is a boy', if a female, she says: 'It is a girl.' This is supposed to be prognostic of the sex of the expected child, but my informants admitted that it was not always correct! I was not able to ascertain any views held by these natives as to the determination of sex, apart from this performance, and as far as I could ascertain the sex of the opossum was regarded only as an indication, not as a cause, of the sex of the baby.

843 The opossum is then killed by having its head struck on the
825 ground. Its hair is singed off, and it is boiled in a pot with some
[267] taro. Its flesh must be eaten only by women who have borne children without difficulty, otherwise the mother's delivery will be a hard one. In the case of Sacsac, her mother, who has had seven children, six of whom are living, ate most of it. The pregnant woman herself must drink the water in which the opossum has
[302] been boiled. Then her hair is cut short all round her head just above the ears, and is smeared all over with black paint. Up to this time she has not been allowed to use paint on her head.

843 Then she goes to the sea and washes. She looks for a gap in the
782 reef where the water is pouring in towards the shore very rapidly. Over this she must jump. The action is said to have the effect of shaking up the child so that when it is born delivery will take place quickly. Meanwhile, the women have been collecting all the débris from the food that has been cooked in connexion with the ceremony (the leaves and peelings of the taro, the bones of the opossum, &c.). Some of them carry it down to the sea, accompanying the pregnant

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this cord now that the child is big?' If the grown child finds it himself, he will ask his mother to throw it away. If it were thrown away while the child is still small, he would become ill. This is explained on the grounds that some evilly-disposed person might find it and make bad medicine with it against the child. I have often been shown such bits of shrivelled cord, covered with lime-powder, lying in the bottom of these receptacles, and been told to which child each had belonged. The mother will not sell or part with a lime-pot containing her child's cord, for fear it might fall into the hands of some one who would bring disaster on the child.

The placenta (*pem* or *piom*) is thrown on to a piece of areca-nut fibre and is shortly afterwards buried in the house, together with the membranes (*sŏŏ*). A fire is made over the filled-in hole. If the placenta were thrown away into the bush some one might get hold of it and 'make poison' to kill the mother. It is noteworthy that the evil effects of carelessness with regard to the umbilical cord are thought to react on the child, those due to carelessness in the treatment of the placenta, on its mother.

If the child is born dead, the cord is not severed, but the body, with the placenta still attached, is buried in the house, near one of the side-walls. An early miscarriage, described as 'child not enough yet', is buried under the woman's bed.

Immediately the cord has been severed, the baby is taken up and all means are used to make it cry lustily. As soon as its cry satisfies the attendant women, it is put to the breast. When it has proved that it is able to suck, it is taken away again, and its head and face are moulded by one of the attendant women, by pressure exerted at the back, sides, and forehead. This procedure is called *totobin*. They like the back and sides of the head to rise perpendicularly, without bulging. In later life their method of trimming the hair is also designed to emphasize this shape, which is also imitated in their ceremonial figures. The nose of the infant is pinched, so that it will not be too flat. Flat noses are much disliked, and if extreme become objects of ridicule. The mother continues this moulding and pinching at intervals, whenever she happens to think about it. As far as my personal observation goes, I do not think she does it often enough, or with enough persistent pressure, actually to cause any alteration in the shape of the child's head such as might be described as artificial deformation. No extraneous aids, such as

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kui ni agiu, kama en ta tamā.' 'Don't cry, your mother will go to the taro patch and pull up some taro and bring it for you.' 854

Babies are put to sleep by stroking and patting. Lullabies are often sung, either by making a crooning noise, or by singing softly words made up by the mother as she goes along. A great feature of these is the repetition of the last syllable, as in this example, which is said to have no meaning: '*Pér per pos satʃi mon a pirpalat a rakū-kū-kū-kū-kū.*' Some lullabies are not improvisations, but are traditional. One of these consists of several syllables each pronounced separately with great emphasis: '*Boa wu e su ma ri ri na to pi ma go lia.*' I could not get these words explained, but was told that all the *urar* (spirits of the dead) are called upon, they all come from the graveyard, and the mother pretends to count them with this song. Then she says: 'Now lie down and sleep, the spirits will get sand and put it on top of you and me.' There is a tiny plant called *owa gurus bai'i* (*Biophytum cumingianum*) which is 533 824

plant sleep child

often hung round the child's neck to make it go to sleep. I could get no reason why this small plant was supposed to have such an effect, but its use in this connexion was very general. No special care is taken to see that a child gets its proper amount of sleep during the day.

Babies are washed by having water thrown over them from half a coco-nut shell; they are then rubbed over by the hand of the person officiating. One family at Kurtatchi had a large wooden bowl, which they said came from Manus; they used to put their babies into it and give them a real bath, but this was exceptional. All small infants have their skins rubbed with the red substance called *oin* (see p. 416) mixed with coco-nut oil. This is also put on their heads, in order to make their hair grow and to keep it free from lice. 854 302

Mothers sing to their babies, and play games with them, just as they do all the world over, and in much the same fashion. There is, for example, a game in which each of the child's fingers is touched or pinched in turn, beginning with the little finger, the mother saying: '*Kulumu, kulugu, tʃiukoir, kububian, awepan, kiri-giri-giri-giri,*' with the last word running her finger lightly up the baby's arm; this is always the signal for gurgles of glee. 'Peep-bo!' is played by the mother clapping her hands and saying '*Tar tar tʃi, hoj-hoj ni!*' ('Look, look, a rattle!'), putting her hand over the

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voice and leg, whenever it sounded. Wanias was not present, it would have been considered very unlucky if he had accidentally put in an appearance. Apparently this performance is somewhat in the nature of a rehearsal.

All the next day the whole of the male population of the village was employed in making ceremonial pudding (see Pl. 33). Some of the men varied their labours by making Pan-pipes, and the women were making baskets of plaited coco-nut palm leaves to hold the pudding. These they made smaller than usual, because they were for a child. When the pudding-making was finished the slit-gong was sounded.

Just before sundown two specially large taro tubers, with leaves and stalk still attached, were laid on the front verandah (*tagoan*) of Wanias's maternal grandmother's hut, where he and his mother live (his father is dead). On these was laid a very elaborately worked woman's hood, covered with an embroidered pattern made of strips of fibre and dried leaves, dyed red and brown, the kind of hood women wear on special occasions. On top of this was placed a sucking pig, held down by one of the older men of the village. Pinari, Wanias's mother's mother's brother, whom he calls *tsubunē* (my grandfather), took some lengths of shell currency (*beroan*) and rubbed the pig's sides with it, beginning at the tail. Then he took a large pinna shell full of red paint (*oin*) mixed with coco-nut oil, and rubbed the pig in the same way with that, then with the specially prepared pack, and then with a red loin-cloth. When all these things, which were to come in contact with Wanias in the course of the ceremony, had been passed from head to tail of the pig, it was allowed to run away. Then a number of the women, of both clans, came up in turn, and each sat on the hood for a minute. Two of the women who were *watʃitʃio* to Wanias came first, but others followed who bore no relationship to him. A little girl, younger than Wanias, not related, but of the same clan, was held down on the hood while her hair was carefully trimmed by Koawu, one of the older men (it does not seem to matter who undertakes this duty). He trimmed it all round, particularly just over the temples and behind the ears, making a clean line. The way having been thus prepared, Rus, Wanias's mother, brought the little boy out of the hut and sat down on the hood with him on her lap. Koawu began to trim his hair in the same way. He was not at all pleased with the process, and wriggled so much that it

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became impossible to continue cutting. He was taken off the hood round to the women's side of the hut, and the hair-dressing operations were finished by two young men, to the accompaniment of his screams. The cutting was done with a razor, of which there are a few in the village. In the olden days they would have used a black-lip oyster shell. When the trimming had been completed to the barbers' satisfaction, Rus took Wanias back to the front verandah and sat down again on the hood, while she covered his head with red paint, except for two dabs of black one on each side just above his ears, he very restless the while. A dab of brighter red was put on his ears, and a streak from the external angle of his eyes sloping down towards the ears.

All this time there were great hair-dressing operations going on all over the village. All the young children, of both sexes, and some of the older girls had their hair trimmed and covered with red paint mixed with coco-nut oil. (The older boys, who wore the *upi*, had no share in this part of the proceedings.) A number of women from neighbouring villages arrived, and were also painted.

Then there was an interval, during which some taro was eaten. Then the women began to congregate in the open space in the centre of the village. Counting visitors, there were perhaps some fifty or more women present. All wore their hoods, except the smallest of the girls, and one or two women who had renounced the custom and did not possess hoods—these wore white loin-cloths over their heads. They started marching round in wheel formation as they had done the previous evening, one carrying the new pack, others bows and arrows, axes, and paddles, as before. After some time there was another interval, at the end of which all the men and boys came up and took over the wheel formation, blowing their Pan-pipes and playing *mabu*, of which there were two. The women returned to their usual role of dancing outside the circle in twos and threes, up to the men and away again, singing and making a hissing noise. They all wore aromatic plants tucked into their loin-cloths and into their hair. They gave me some to put in my belt, and begged me to join in the dancing, which I did, following the example of the other women. Some of the men were springing about in imitation of the movements made by a band of armed warriors attacking a village by stealth. This was apparently symbolical, as it is not a regular feature of their dances. They did not go on very late on this occasion.

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852 565 The next day was entirely uneventful. Wanias played about as usual, and there was no dancing or any other ritual.

On the following day there was great activity in preparation for the evening's events. Four pigs were killed in the early morning, and cooked in the usual manner. One had been killed some days before, and partly smoked, and another was cooked at a house [435] some distance from the village, making six in all, each worth, to the natives, the equivalent of anything from £5 to £10 in our money, this indicating that the occasion was one of considerable importance.

852 565 436 Just before sundown Wanias was arrayed in several lengths of shell currency, which were wound round and round his waist. The ornamented hood was again laid over the two large taro plants, which now had black and red stripes painted on them. Behind, hanging from the roof of the hut, were two lengths of the most highly prized kind of ceremonial currency (*imun*), one made of the [523] teeth of the flying fox, the other of porpoise teeth. This latter string was an heirloom of great value. To it was fastened a tooth of Pinari's (Wanias's mother's mother's brother) which had recently fallen out; a toe from the foot of Kakari (Wanias's mother's brother) which fell off a short time before as the result of a bad septic sore; and the little finger of a famous enemy.[1] Wanias was [302] seated on the hood with these relics behind him. His hair was newly painted, red all over except for two dabs of black, one over each ear. All the other small children of the village were painted in the same manner.

852 565 602 The women began walking round as before, with the usual yells (*waki*). Presently Pesē hoisted Wanias on to the ceremonial pack which she carried, and went round with him seated on it. This is noteworthy, because, since she stands to him in the relation of *matʃitʃio*, in the ordinary way no physical contact is permitted between them. All his maternal relatives then started a ceremonial wailing, as for the dead. Matēv, his maternal grandmother, and her

[726] [727] 266 [1] The story of this little finger is as follows: Sapia, a warrior of the Hahon people who live in the hills, killed Bururuk, a *tuxuxu* of the coast, cut off his finger and his mouth and took them back to the hills with him. The coast people killed Sapia in the bush. Mawon, a relative of Sapia, avenged him by killing some of the coast people. Ten men from coastal villages went and lay in wait for Mawon, who was eventually killed by Na'uston, Pinari's *tuxu* (mother's brother). Mawon was eaten, but Na'uston kept his little finger, in revenge for the similar insult to Bururuk, Na'uston's *kiar* ('brother'), and this is the relic that now hangs on the string of ceremonial currency.

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881 ceremony they must not play, but must sit about doing nothing, and when they go out, must walk slowly. They must not cry. This is the time when the smaller boys sometimes give way to tears of home-sickness and are sent back to await a later *wapi*. No disgrace appears to be attached to this, but only a very little boy would do it, because it means that he must wait perhaps for several years before he has another chance of putting on the hat, with all its attendant importance, and meanwhile his friends will be going through the ceremonies without him, and he would not be asked to join in their games and hunting, but would be expected to remain with the women.

[302] Various other rules must be observed by the novices while they are in the bush. No clothing, ornaments, or decorations can be worn, but the hair and skin must be painted and rubbed with oil. They must not kindle fire; if any one does so, his *amro* must throw him on to the ground and cover his head with branches of trees, 'to make him ashamed'. They may not hold a knife or other sharp-edged tool; if they fail to observe this taboo their hair will not grow long, which would be very disastrous, since the main purpose of the seclusion appears to be to give their hair a chance to grow long enough to support the *upi*.

Rules concerning food.

There are quite severe restrictions in the matter of diet. Some of the boys told me that they had been hungry all the time. They are forbidden pig altogether. If their *amro* think well, they are given a little fish, but are allowed nothing but the heads. Taro is cooked for them by their mothers or other female relatives, but they are not allowed to go into the village for it, neither may their female relatives bring it to them in the bush. The women may not see even the *amro* while the novices are in seclusion. So when they have cooked the taro for their sons or nephews, they give it to the *kwigin*, who continue to live in the village. The *kwigin* take the food to the bush and give it to the *amro*, who meet them half-way. When the *amro* go to get the food from the *kwigin* they must not speak loudly, but only whisper. If one of them raises his voice, the *kwigin* reproves him, saying: 'Sh-sh-sh, you must speak softly, the boys have not eaten yet.' The *amro* must not come too near to the village; they meet the *kwigin* in the bush and return with the food to the *nōnō*. While they are on their way the women

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places, carrying spears, bows and arrows, knives, and trade axes, which they call tomahawks. Those who were not fortunate enough to possess these treasures carried sticks cut from the bush, with leaves still attached to them. Their faces were painted in various patterns, a striking effect being obtained by a bright red (carmine) obtained from the Chinese stores, covering both ears. Nearly every one had a spot of red (*oin*) on both temples; this is a protection against the dangers of the road.

We went on till we came to a village called Kinopawpaw. On its outskirts we found a platform made of boughs, on which were placed a large number of coco-nut-leaf baskets. These were full of roast pig, cooked taro, and ceremonial pudding. Others contained the eggs of the bush fowl (megapode), done up in leaves. Huge bunches of areca-nut, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper leaves. All along the edge of the platform there were coco-nuts. The whole effect was one of lavish abundance, as was intended. This food was provided by the group holding the ceremony, for the benefit of those who came from long distances to attend it.

Our crowd approached the platform with much shouting and brandishing of weapons. They were met by a band who had arrived before us, and a sham fight took place. Then we all sat down and food was distributed. Presently a fresh crowd arrived, every one jumped up and rushed out to meet them, and another sham fight took place. This happened whenever a new contingent came up.

We remained there till darkness had fallen; fresh contingents arrived at frequent intervals, each necessitating the staging of another fight. Finally we started off down a narrow track, in single file, our way lighted by torches made of the dried leaves of the coco-nut palm, and the hurricane lanterns carried by our own party, a less picturesque but more dependable form of illumination. The track was level for a while, then it began to go up and down, with creeks in the valleys, some bridged by logs, some to be forded. Progress was at the rate of about two miles an hour, or less, with frequent halts. Presently we came to an avenue of areca-nut palms. These trees the men in the forefront of the procession proceeded to cut down and strew over the road, though some of them were bearing. It seemed a piece of wanton destruction, but as the owners of the trees were among the destroyers, it was clearly part of the business. They did not gather the areca-nuts from the

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881 trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the
574 ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went
372 on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now on-
487 wards we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general dread of the forest after nightfall.

881 When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk
574 all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions, which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

881 Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line con-
574 tinued to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately
487 plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was
301 constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess that much-coveted article.

881 Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing,
574 spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the
[516] bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi*
824 made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not do for the novices to see them before they had received their own.
292 The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced
● 302 a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent
881 my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in
[534] the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and
574 that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man
754 carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

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soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *waripip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194.

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A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
574 opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
621 of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself. The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
[578] men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills. The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
[411] of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives, axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion. He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

184 The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
177 certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
291 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
184 weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely
302 across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several
291 wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belonging to this group had been through the *watemat∫* ceremony, and so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

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so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands, reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion, twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures, with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out; only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices at the other performance. They were grouped together with their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar* came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar* was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day, when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them, without seeing this.

This performance of the *mapi* ceremony was not nearly so

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881 553 names now given entirely superseded the names by which the boys had previously been called, which were forgotten altogether. But in practice I found that some of the boys wearing the *upi* were familiarly known by the names they had had since babyhood, though if questioned about this they always explained that these were not the 'names belonging to the *upi*', which would then be stated.

881 [824] The *amro* will have laid in readiness a supply of certain leaves, collected from the bush. Two of these are varieties of nettle, and sting the skin if touched. These are called *bobuwiar* and *sentun*. The third, called *nes*, I cannot identify.[1] The *amro* now fetch water and soak the leaves in it. With this mixture they return to the village. By this time it is getting dark. The *amro* find the mothers of the novices in the village, and throw over them the water containing the leaves, 'it makes the women's skin sting and they cry'. The women run away into their huts and fasten the doors. The *amro* climb up on to the roofs of the huts where the *tʃina'upi* are hiding, and throw water down through the roof. (The layers of sago-palm leaf thatch with which the huts are roofed can very easily be displaced for this purpose without doing any damage.) Then the *amro* run away from the village and go back to the *nōnō*, where the novices have remained while all this has been going on. This they do by night, a practice contrary to the usual custom except on special occasions, such as the present, when they consider themselves to be specially protected by the nature of their errand from the dangers usually lurking in the bush after dark.

They sleep with the novices in the *nōnō* for the rest of that night, and next morning, at early dawn, they come back to the village and throw stones and sticks at all the huts, not confining themselves to those in which there are *tʃina'upi*. As they throw, they call out: '*Wapor wats!*' ('Throw stones!') The people inside the huts talk among themselves; they are afraid of the *amro*. Then the *amro* return to the bush.

[292] The novices are now given hats of the same shape as before, but decorated with patterns in red-dyed leaf (Pl. 27). Their bodies [302] are hung about with aromatic plants, and painted with the usual pigments.

[1] Another account gave the leaves used as *hatʃan*, *hatsanar*, and *lasalʃ*. The sap of the last-named, if applied to the skin, causes little weals. The essential thing is that the leaves shall hurt a little when they touch the skin of the *tʃina'upi*.

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688 would have been speared to death. Though the death penalty can no longer be exacted, there is still a very real horror of this inadvertently occurring. One unfortunate little boy was afflicted with 753 head lice to such an extent that his hair began to fall out badly. This was attributed to the fact that he had eaten canarium almonds which are taboo to boys wearing the *upi*. When the top of his head 292 was quite bald, leaving only a fringe of hair round the outside of 788 his *upi*, the men became afraid that the hat might fall off in the presence of the women. They decided to forestall that catastrophe, and take off the hat with proper ritual. One of the men came to tell me it was going to be done, and asked if I wished to be present.

The hat was removed in the *tobar* of the clan Naboin, to which the boy belonged. This should have been done by the boy's *amro*, but as he was away from the village at the time, his brother officiated instead. As soon as the *upi* had been removed, the same man cut [302] off the wisp of hair that remained and covered the whole head with paint, black in front and at the back, with a broad streak of red in the middle, running from ear to ear. The usual method of painting for ceremonial purposes is from front to back; the pattern here used is especially sanctioned for the removal of the *upi* and is put on at the *wasipsip* ceremony. Three of the older men were looking on. No one spoke above a whisper. The boy looked very crestfallen, 882 and it was evidently all he could do not to cry. He was one of the 292 smallest of the *upi* boys, his age would be somewhere about ten 781 probably. His status in the village is not affected, but he will not be able to take part in the *watawutf* with his companions, which is a bitter disappointment to him. He stayed inside the *tobar* for the rest of the day. He was free to leave it had he wished, but he was very self-conscious, and dreaded being seen by the women without his *upi*. The older men legitimized its removal by partaking of ceremonial pudding specially prepared, made in lengths instead of rolls, and called *gōgi*. After sundown the *upi* was taken to pieces, and the upper part, made of leaves, with part of the cane frame, was burnt inside the *tobar*. The lower part of the frame is made of a large variety of bamboo which does not grow in the district but must be bought from the mountain people. With an eye to economy, this was saved and hung up from the rafters, to be used again.

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882 elsewhere, and that opportunities for eating the forbidden nuts with
262 little danger of discovery are legion, I suspect that this rule is more honoured in theory than in practice, in spite of the urgent necessity of having a good growth of hair to show at the *watawutſ*. But considerable stress was laid upon it in all our talks upon the subject, and its theoretical importance is also clear from the fact that fathers, and, less frequently, mothers of boys wearing the hat will voluntarily refrain from eating canarium almonds in sympathy with their sons. Sobak and his wife Tsonakets were doing so while I was in residence at Kurtatchi.

882 In the olden days the *upi* boys might never be seen in the act
264 of eating, but had to take their food into the *tobar* and consume it
177 in private. They were not allowed to handle knives, so it was the duty of their *amro* to cut up their food for them. This custom is no longer observed.

882 They may chew the betel-mixture, but must use with it only the
276 leaves of the betel-pepper, not the fruit, which is preferred under ordinary circumstances.

III. *Regulations concerning personal appearance.*

882 The hair of the boys is never cut or trimmed from the time they
302 go into the bush before the *wapi* ceremony until it is ceremonially cut short at the *wasipsip*. It is pushed up underneath the *upi*, except for a few straggling ends on neck and forehead.

593 The fathers of boys wearing the *upi* sometimes lay themselves
302 under a similar prohibition as regards cutting their hair, which they tie up into a knot on the top of the head. This method of hair-dressing is seen in Plate 52. Mothers do not cut their hair over the temples, and do not put paint on it. This custom is not obligatory upon either sex, and is followed only by a few.

826 There are certain 'medicines' for making the hair grow long, of
824 which the following is a typical example:

789 Take the long (tap) root of the plant *niyowan* (unidentified). Chew the end of it with the betel-mixture, spit out the resulting mash into your hand and put it inside the hat, pushing it well up to the top. It will pull up the hair and make it grow longer. The longer the root you chew, the longer your hair will be.

882 The boys may not wear red paint on their hair, or white paint
302 on their temples, except as prescribed for the various ceremonies, when it is put on by their *amro*. In one case the *amro* of a boy

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stood to him in the relation of *pi'an* (cross-cousin), and as he was therefore prohibited from touching his skin, another man was specially appointed to perform the duty of putting on the paint.

They may not decorate themselves with a plant called *tsutsuir*, which is much liked by these people and is frequently worn tucked into the arm-band. This prohibition is removed after the watawutch ceremony.

IV. *Other regulations.*

In the olden days, boys wearing the *upi* were not allowed to handle edged tools. They might help to clear the bush, but all cutting was done by the *amro*. This taboo is no longer enforced.

A boy wearing the *upi* may not be beaten by anybody, no matter what his offence. Those who break this taboo will die. Specific instances were cited of people who had done so—and had died. It is permissible for two boys to fight each other, though it is difficult to imagine how they could do so effectively without first removing their head-gear.

In recent years, with the increase in the practice of going away to work for white men, another rule has been made, that the boys wearing the *upi* may not sign on as indentured labourers. For some time after putting on the hat they must not work for white men at all, but after their hair has grown to some length they can work as casuals, provided they work on a plantation near enough to their own village to enable them to return to it each night. They are not allowed to remove their *upi* while at work. After they have been through the *watawutf* they may sign on as indentured labourers and are permitted, if they wish, to remove the *upi* and tie up their hair in a bit of cloth; this is done to keep it out of the way rather than to prevent it from being seen, since the prohibition on showing it is removed at the *watawutf*.

A further complication is now caused by the boarding-schools instituted by the various missions. A boy from Ruri who went to one of these had his *upi* removed by the priest. His people were very angry, but the affair was not as bad as it might have been, because the lad had been through the *watawutf* ceremony. It was legitimized by making a feast at Ruri, to which the Kurtatchi people were invited; this brought the matter to my notice. (Incidentally, those who went said it wasn't much of a feast, there was only one pig and some taro, and they got only very little apiece!)

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the importance and danger of the occasion. All the men make as much noise as they can, and the women set up a ritual wailing. My informants said that this wailing is done because the women are afraid that their boys will be poisoned by other natives, and will die; it is of the nature of a safeguard against this disaster. This part of the ceremony is called *wawan*. Seen by the light of coco-nut palm leaf torches, it must be an impressive moment.

When all the boys have been up the trees and come down again, they all go into the long house with their *amro*, who decorate them in the prescribed fashion. Their hair is covered with black paint (*tʃina*), their foreheads are outlined with white (*wiwi*) round the edge of the trimmed hair. This outline is called *wakai*. A small triangular patch of the red paint called *oin* is placed under each eye, and a dab on each ear. The mouth and chin are touched with white. A line of white is carried across from each shoulder under the arm on the other side, and across the back. Cock's feathers are fastened into their hair.

All this takes place so early in the morning that at this stage in the proceedings it is still dark. When dawn is about to break, the outer sheath of leaves covering the special *upi* is taken off, showing the cut-out pattern underneath. The hat designed for each individual is shown to him by his *amro*; he then puts it on, to the accompaniment of much shouting and blowing of pipes. It is essential that there should be a large number of pipes, particularly the large ones called *mabu*. More coco-nut palm leaf torches are lighted. By this time the village is so full of people that there is barely room to move. Part of the palisade round the long house is broken down to make a door. Out of this a procession emerges. First come boys who are not among the initiates, carrying wooden figures of men, women, and birds. These are carefully carved, and are of varying sizes, the birds of natural size, but the men and women are smaller than life (see Pl. 28). Behind the boys carrying these figures come the *amro*, each carrying one of the novices on his shoulder. If one man is *amro* to two boys, he may pay one of the Hahon people to carry one of his charges, or some member of the boy's own clan may carry him, in which case no payment is made. The *amro* carrying the boy who is second in rank (*nonorir*) goes first, the first in rank (*wagi'upi*) comes second. This is done so that the second in rank can brush away the cobwebs, covered with dew, that cross the path in the early morning.

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PLATE 29

●302

BOY WITHOUT *UPI*

[Facing p. 239]

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them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance.

THE *WASIPSIP* CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawutʃ*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wasilbē*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *wapi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did in the *watawutʃ* ceremony. No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawutʃ* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tumaun*, who gives them water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

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881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from [276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is [272] looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the 824 leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two [302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533] /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example, 574 for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of 824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called *pias a mon* (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

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Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge, and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and twisted belt (*sosu*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut, but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached, and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*, i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round her neck she wears a *pirir* (ornament made of clam shell with overlay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

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881 mother's hut. Nawi's mother allowed me to keep one of them
292 (see Pl. 75).

FINAL PART OF CEREMONY FOR MUBEN

881 It sometimes happens that a girl is married, and actually sleeps
[582] with her husband, before the onset of her first menstrual period. This was the case with Muben, wife of Kakari, whose marriage took place just prior to my period of residence. Her first flux occurred shortly afterwards. As soon as her mother heard of it, she sent for Muben to return to her own village of Baniu for the
[574] banana-palm ceremony. Unfortunately, this was over before I went to Kurtatchi. But during the first few days of my stay, several of the women of Kurtatchi went to Baniu to bring her back after the conclusion of the ceremony, and on this trip I accompanied them. The final dance took place on the evening of our arrival. When we reached the village, all the men were busy making cere-
[292] monial pudding for us. The bride was dressed in a belt of cane, three white strands and three red ones, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front. She wore no loin-cloth. Another girl, who looked slightly younger, was similarly attired. She was undergoing the ceremony for her first menstruation with Muben, who was of the same clan, but in her case it was not accompanied by marriage.

I was invited to sit on the women's verandah of the hut belonging to the bride's mother. For a long time nothing happened. We passed the time by munching taro and playing at cat's cradles. Long after dark, the sound of Pan-pipes and *mabu* was heard on the other side of the house. Nobody moved. They told me that the men and boys had it all to themselves at first, and that they would come and fetch us afterwards.

881 Presently the two girls concerned went into the hut and were made ready by their mothers, helped by their mothers' sisters.
292 When they came out, a little procession was formed, the men and boys with their instruments in front, the two girls following, and then all the rest of the women and children. The two girls had long bunches of leaves stuck into their cane girdles, they wore the usual woman's hood on their heads, but into the tops of the hoods there were stuck white feathers from the tail of the hornbill. Round their waists was a cord from which hung a rattle made of shell.
● [302] A long streak of white outlined each temple and the forehead.

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The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, a girl should be given another name; the former one is then supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women,

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524 a coco-nut palm is hung up on a branch, and the tops are thrown at it. There are also competitions to see whose top spins longest. The grown men join the children in this game, but the women are [562 not allowed to play it. After this top spinning becomes general; 184] it is not played for some time previously. (At Petats they did not observe this rule.)

574 The 'time of the almond' is also made the occasion for reciprocal feasts between friendly villages, which have more of a social than of a ceremonial character. The older men will say to the boys: 'You fellows go and get a lot of almonds and make a Tukis.' (Tukis is the name of a group of tiny creatures somewhat similar to our hobgoblins; they are discussed in Chapter XV.) So the boys go to the bush and collect a great quantity of nuts, and bring them to the village, and arrange them on the ground in the central space, in the form of a man; they make his head, and his body, and his arms, and ●[302 his legs. Then the people of the village all paint themselves with 533] red and black paint, and they play Pan-pipes, and walk round as they do at a *kōma*, while they are cracking the nuts. This is one of the very few occasions on which they *kōma* in daylight; usually it is only done at night. They invite the people of a neighbouring village, who all come with Pan-pipes and join in the *kōma*. Then every one feasts on the nuts. A short time after, the village which was thus invited gives a similar feast in its turn, and asks the people of the former village. After this, if the boys, who naturally much enjoy these festive occasions, ask the *tsunaun* if they may have another, they are told: 'No, our guests have returned the one we gave before, we cannot have another now.'

262 Most of the many varieties of bananas are eaten either raw or 252 cooked, but there are some, including one very large plantain (*kaŋ*), which are not palatable until cooked. These are usually boiled in a pot, skin and all. A smaller yellow kind (*tomra*) is usually skinned before being laid on hot embers to roast.

177 Oranges and limes grow in the vicinity of most villages and are much appreciated by the natives. They are always eaten raw. 262 The oranges do not change colour when ripe, but remain green; the inside is pale, somewhat resembling the colour of a grape-fruit. They are sweet and juicy. I understand that they are not indigenous, as is also the case with the pawpaw (*Carica Papaya*). This is eaten raw, like a melon, and generally while still, according to our ideas, very far from ripe.

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The leaves of A plant (Nets)

and another (*korowin*) were cut up into small pieces and put on these fires. [These leaves give rise to a dense smoke which spreads all over the ground. It is intended to drive away the *urar* who might wish to do harm to the taro when it is planted. The smoke of the *nets* blinds them so that they cannot see the taro. The smoke of the *korowin* is directed against pigs, it blinds them so that they will not be able to get into the garden and spoil the taro. This is intended as a protection against possible disaster in the future, since there is at this stage in the proceedings no taro on the site or anywhere near it. No other fires may be lit on or near the taro garden on that day.]

In the middle of each plot a stick between 2 and 3 feet high was set up and half a dry coco-nut shell balanced on the top of it. The taro, when planted, will look up at the coco-nut on the top of its stick and will try to grow up tall so as to hide it.

In the village a number of men were busy making ceremonial pudding. One package was made especially large, 5 to 6 feet long, a foot broad, and a couple of inches thick.

The next day the village rose in great excitement, the climax of a growing tension which had been evident for some days. (There had been a *kōma* almost every night for about a week before.) The people cut and combed their hair, and covered their heads with black paint. Some of them also put paint on their faces, outlining the forehead with white and putting red dots or streaks on their cheeks and red on their ears.

Matēv, the woman of most importance in the village, carried the packages of ceremonial pudding down to the garden, a distance of about three miles. I accompanied her. When we arrived several other women pulled up a quantity of taro from another garden in the neighbourhood and went off to Tarongen to barter it, by appointment, with the women of Saposa for half-smoked fish to use as a relish, the occasion not being of sufficient importance to warrant the killing of pigs.

Other women brought down some specially selected taro stalks which had been obtained several days before, in exchange for pots, from the women of Baniu, where the soil is said to be better and the taro finer. All the taro stalks were laid out in piles in a shady place, and the tubers carefully cut off with black-lip oyster-shell knives. The stalks were then left heaped up in the shade for the time being. On top of the heaps were placed bundles of *5ts*, a plant

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and if subsequently it is desired to enlarge its capacity by adding further sets of house-posts and thus increasing its length, a feast is held for each set of house-posts put in. A very large *tobár* may have as many as ten sets of posts. A man who wishes to build a *tobár* of his own must put up at least ten pigs, which form part of the feast on its completion. He may then invite youths and unattached men of his own clan, at his pleasure, to occupy it.

Beyond the preparation and eating of a quantity of ceremonial pudding, no feast was held for the two *tobár* erected at Kurtatchi during my stay, because they were not really new ones, but re-erected from the old site on the removal of the people from Gomen. I was, however, invited to be present at a feast made for a new men's house in the village of Tung, on the island of Buka, soon after my arrival in the district. As I had not then any working acquaintance with the language, and was a stranger to the village, I was not able to hold much discussion with the natives about the procedure, and can do little more than describe it.

On my arrival at the village, I found three pigs lying on the floor of the new men's house (called *dzuhan* in the Petats dialect, which closely resembles that spoken at Tung). They were tied to the house-posts. A fourth was brought over from Petats in a canoe and likewise tied up. Then the slit-gong was beaten; four single beats in slow time, indicating the number of pigs that were to be killed, and a large number of quick beats said to indicate the number of taros available for the feast. Nothing further transpired till after dark, when there was a *kōma* with slit-gong but no Pan-pipes. It lasted till a short time after daybreak.

The next day, several children, all belonging to the Manu clan, whose house it was, had their hair carefully trimmed and painted, with a broad band of red in the centre of the forehead running to the back of the head, a band of black on either side of this, and a narrow line of white outlining the edge of the hair on the forehead.

Meanwhile, several men came in from the bush blowing a conch-shell and carrying poles. One pole was very long and a tuft of leaves had been left growing at the end of it. This was stuck into the ground opposite the centre of the front of the men's house. The men stood in a circle round this, each holding one of the other posts. One man beat the slit-gong in a series of slow, distinct beats, and at each beat the men thrust the poles they held into the ground, till holes had been made deep enough to keep them upright.

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in front of the men's house. One was put much farther away than the others: this was intended as a present to the next village, Pokar, and would be reciprocated on the next occasion at which pigs were killed in that village. 342 574

Three of the pigs were then killed and partially cooked, in the usual way (see p. 283). The joints were piled up on the back verandah of Gonu's own house, not the new men's house. In the afternoon some men from Pokar came and fetched the pig reserved for them away—alive—in a canoe.

A crowd of guests from other Buka villages then arrived, including a number of women with their babies. All were decorated with red paint on their hair and some with dabs on their faces. [302] As soon as it was quite dark there was a *kōma* with slit-gong, *mabu*, and Pan-pipes, with much more excitement than there had been the day before, and more people dancing, including the visitors, both men and women. 342 535 574 Most of the women wore bands of plaited fibre round their waists, from which were suspended tails of grass or pith, which they manipulated with their hands while dancing. The men had red paint and white cockatoo feathers in their hair, and bits of phosphorescent fungus on their cheeks and on the ends of the *mabu*. [302] There were three of these instruments. I was told they had been borrowed from the neighbouring island of Matsungan, as the village of Tung did not possess any. [426]

The *kōma* went on till after daybreak, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain which made their finery look very bedraggled, but did not seem to abate their eagerness to dance. When it was over, the players of the Pan-pipes threw them on the ground and stamped on them, breaking them all to pieces.

Baskets of taro had been distributed in the intervals of the dance, but the pigs were not eaten till the following day. 342 574 The joints had been distributed among the various houses to be cooked; these were all brought out and laid on the platform which ran the whole length of the men's house, together with a large quantity of taro, all in baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves. [556] The display was of great importance, and my attention was called to the quantity produced, which I was clearly expected to admire. All the members of Gonu's clan, Manu, sat inside the house, on the floor and on the platform, where I was also given a seat. Separate baskets of pig-meat and taro were put in front of each little group, who ate the contents at their leisure. Baskets were sent to members of the

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535 852 mother's pack (see Pl. 17). At such times they take up the men's wheel formation.

535 184 At Tabut I once saw a variation of the women's steps, taking the form of imitative movements which might be called 'figures'. One represented getting water; some women danced in a ring and one in the centre imitated the action of pouring water into a coco-nut. Another 'figure' imitated the planting of taro. I saw nothing of the kind at Kurtatchi or any other village I visited, and the Kurtatchi women said they did not know how to dance in any other way than the usual.

USE OF COLOUR

386 302 Colouring matter is freely employed, both on the person and on the various objects manufactured. The colours in general use are red, black, white, and yellow, in that order of importance. There are several ways of obtaining each of these. Colouring matter used for personal adornment is mixed with coco-nut oil before being applied to skin or hair. The generic term for such a mixture is *us*, which I have translated 'paint'.

386 317 438 *Red.* Several kinds of red paint are distinguished by special names. They are all varieties of red oxide of iron (haematite),[1] formed in the neighbourhood of volcanoes by decomposing the vapours of ferric chloride with steam. The kind giving the brightest colour, and therefore the most highly prized, is called *oin*. It is obtained from the people living in the mountainous hinterland of Bougainville, who have access to the volcanoes in the interior. The natives of the east coast near Numanuma act as intermediaries to pass it on to the people of the north coast as an object of barter. *Owan*, a rather muddier red, consists of impure iron oxide with some iron sulphide, which might be obtained from an ironstone nodule embedded in a clay deposit. It can be found on Buka, but the exact locality is unknown to me. A third variety, intermediate in colour between the other two, but nearer to *oin*, is called *itʃu*, [431] and is used when *oin* is not available. At the present time the natives also paint their faces with carmine, which they get from the Chinese stores.

386 [824] Leaves and canes are dyed red with a preparation of *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). Details of its use are given in the sections

[1] For the identification of my samples I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand, University Demonstrator in Geology, Oxford.

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describing the various articles so treated. The coast natives do not know the secret of making the colour permanent, they therefore buy dyed leaves for special purposes from the mountain people, who have discovered how to use a mordant (see p. 231).

Black. The substance which produces black paint (*tʃina*) consists of selected fragments of volcanic ash which have been attacked by acid vapours after volcanic eruption. This is obtained from the people of the interior in the same way as *oin*. Black is also produced by mixing charcoal with oil. Ordinary wood from the fire may be used for this purpose, but more often coco-nut shells are charred and ground up specially. Black thus obtained is called *aniv*.

White (*iwi* or *wiwi*) is made from powdered sulphur from a volcanic deposit, and, like *oin* and *tʃina*, must be obtained by barter from the people of the interior. This kind of paint is used chiefly for making the line round the edge of the hair on forehead and temples. For the head, lime (*iav*), obtained by burning branched coral and crushing it, is used. Combed well into the hair, it gives the appearance of a powdered wig (Pl. 66*a*). The result of this treatment is eventually to bleach the hair to a reddish-yellow. If the individual tires of this, he can make his hair black again by a liberal application of *tʃina*. The drastic change thus suddenly produced in a man's personal appearance is very striking.

In painting wooden objects, such as paddles and canoes, white is produced by rubbing the surface with the seaweed *mō*, a calcareous alga. A handful of this is taken, freshly gathered from the reef, and rubbed, wet, over the portion to be coloured, without further preparation.

Yellow to be used on the person is made from crushed coral prepared as for making *wiwi*, to which a preparation of the leaves of the mango tree is added. The leaves are either squeezed in the hand or chewed, and then mixed with the lime powder. A yellow dye, for grass or cane, &c., is made from the tuberous rhizome of the plant *totomoin* (turmeric, *Curcuma longa*). The tuber is scraped, put into a pot with water, and heated but not boiled; the substance to be dyed is then put into the pot and left to soak.

Discrimination of colours.

I obtained the terms for different colours by showing to various people the coloured paper disks furnished with the Milton

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PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Most of these people take great delight in decorating themselves with ornaments, paint, and flowers, even when nothing special is going on. A few are careless, and can hardly be induced to trim their hair even for an important ceremony; these are the subject of comment on the part of the others, whatever their age or sex. On the whole, the women appear to take less trouble over their personal appearance than do the men; they certainly make less fuss about it. Some of the men—not only the young ones—spend a good deal of time in trimming and putting paint on their hair, carving themselves combs out of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), and searching for aromatic leaves to wear in their armlets or round their necks.

Hair-dressing.

The method of dressing the hair most generally favoured for special occasions is to trim it rather close at the back, and very close at the sides, leaving a small triangular patch just in front of the ears. This cut accentuates the straightness of the sides and back of the head, which is much admired. The general effect is imitated in the wooden figures made for certain ceremonies (see p. 236 and Pl. 28). This method of hair-cutting is called *tʃirkĕ*. Red, black, or yellow paint may be used in conjunction with it. Though almost obligatory on special occasions, it may be worn at any time at the wish of the individual. Round the temples and across the forehead the hair is trimmed to this shape ⌒. To trim it thus is called *genomola*. The line of white paint which usually follows the edge of the hair is called *wakai*, to put it on is *wakamola*. The *wakai* line may not be used by boys wearing the *upi*, until the time of the *watswutʃ* ceremony, when it is put on them at a certain stage in the proceedings.

On special occasions a pattern of black and red (*usbog*) is painted on the hair, according to the clan of the individual. Those belonging to the Naboin clan paint the sides black with a broad band of red in the centre, passing from front to back. Those of the Nakarib clan have the side bands red and the centre black.

The face is painted according to individual taste. A splash of bright red covering one ear and another round the eye on the other side, or one broad line going right across, gives a striking effect

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302 from the standpoint of the unaccustomed observer. Other designs seen at various times included smears of red or white round the eyes, a series of white lines across the forehead or obliquely across the cheeks, lines of red dots, &c.

[751] [404] Some of this painting has more than a decorative purpose, e.g. a spot of red is put on each temple when starting on a journey, as a protection against the dangers of the road.

302 856 Children's heads are usually kept covered with a mixture of *oin* and coco-nut oil, even if there is no ceremony going on. This is said to make the hair grow and to keep off lice. Some children have their hair rolled into little blobs with a mixture of *oin* and clay.

302 184 856 At Baniu, a village about ten miles east of Kurtatchi, and a few villages farther east of it, but not—at least not now—as far as Tiop on the extreme north-eastern corner, a custom obtains of cutting very short the hair on the front half of the children's heads, and letting the back half grow long. This is done for both sexes. The front half is cut, at a feast, when the child is very small, perhaps two or three years old; the back half remains long for some years more, and is finally cut at a special feast, where the child is given pig to eat for the first time. The reason given to me for this method of hair-dressing is that it makes the child grow strong and healthy. My friends of Kurtatchi said it had never been done in their neighbourhood, although the two districts are in intimate and friendly connexion.

302 593 The father of a boy wearing the *upi* will often let his hair grow long and wear it tied into a bunch at the top of his head (see Pl. 52). This is done because the boy may not cut his own hair; it also shows pride in him. His mother may refrain from cutting her hair short at the temples for the same reason, but does not wear it on the top of her head.

302 589 765 A widow may not cut her hair, but makes it into blobs with clay, without paint, which is forbidden her until a certain stage of the mourning is ended.

302 [412] 197 Hair is cut with a sharp-edged shell, usually a species of *Cyrena*, or, nowadays, with a bit of glass, except in the case of those few returned labourers who possess razors or scissors. These lucky ones will often be requested to use their acquisitions on the heads of their friends. Cutting is done in the village, usually on the women's verandah. No special attention is given to the disposal of the ends, which are either thrown away among the other rubbish

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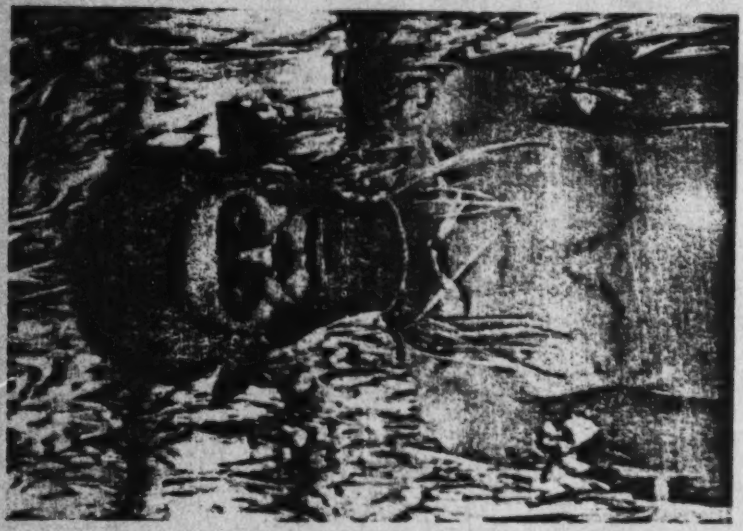
PLATE 66



b. WASE: A YOUNG DANDY.

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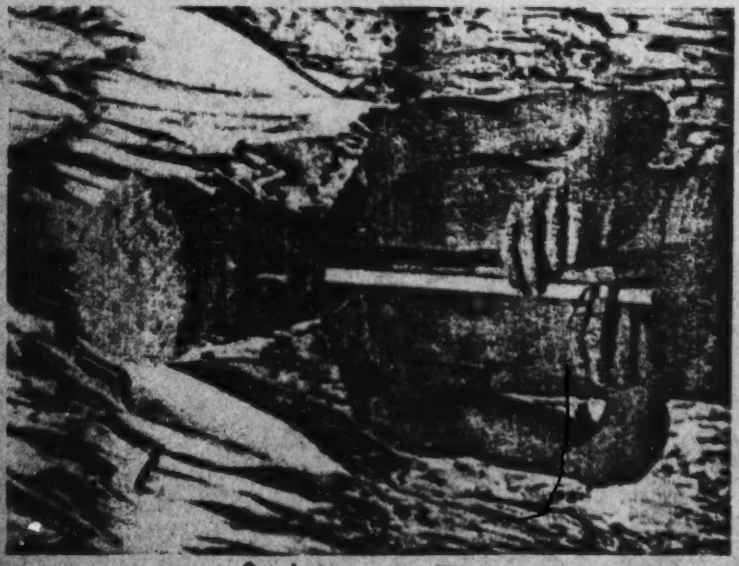

a. MAN WITH LIMED HAIR, PLAYING THE FLUTE

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[facing p 42]

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ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

302 or put on the fire. Anybody, apparently, may cut or trim the hair, so long as they do not stand in any of the taboo relationships. Men may do it for women, whether related to them or not. It is regarded [513] as a privilege as well as a duty for the wife to trim her husband's hair on the occasion of a dance or a ceremony. There is no change in the fashion of dressing the hair consequent upon marriage.

302 565 765 During a period of mourning it is forbidden to cut the hair or to put paint on it. After the death of a person of rank this prohibition extends to all the people of the village, for a commoner only to his immediate relatives. The period is terminated by a feast. For some misfortune affecting the whole village a similar prohibition may be enforced. During a part of my visit, several people in the village of Kurtatchi were affected by very bad septic sores and by common consent for several weeks no one put paint on the head or cut the hair, those not affected observing the prohibition as well as the sufferers. When they had all recovered, a feast was held, in preparation for which everybody trimmed the hair elaborately and put paint on it.

Ornaments.

301 Ornaments worn in the hair include carved combs, made of bamboo (Pl. 67, no. 9), flowers, feathers, &c. The tail-feathers of [237] the domestic cock are in great demand on festive occasions, indeed the birds seemed to be valued solely for this purpose. This form of decoration is called *sab*. Small red, green, or yellow parrot feathers are very highly prized, and are stuck into the hair in all directions, like pins in a pin-cushion. The particular kind most admired cannot be obtained in the neighbourhood of Kurtatchi, but comes from a variety of parrot found only in the hills. Flowers are stuck into the hair one on each side of the head above the ears. Small red and yellow ones are chiefly used in this way, but a single large hibiscus is sometimes seen worn over the forehead. I have seen girls wearing round their heads branches hung with limes; this has a very picturesque effect. The leaves of a number of [824] aromatic plants are also worn stuck into the hair, and those of a white variegated form of the fern *kakariuk* (*Selaginella flabellata* Spring). These white leaves are eagerly sought for in the bush, and women will pull the plants up by the roots and plant them nearer the village. Live butterflies are frequently fastened to the hair by a thin bit of fibre and left to flutter round the head, or their

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On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had

body smeared with black paint, which was also matted into thick blobs in her hair. The widow showed none of these traditional signs of mourning, contrary to the old custom, which prescribed that the widow must put ashes on her hair and skin and must have her arms and legs rubbed with the skin of a banana which has been dipped in a mixture of red ochre and coco-nut oil. This she had to retain all the time she remained in the house. She may not eat whatever food was last eaten by her husband previous to his death. In the olden days, at the end of the period of mourning she would have become the wife of his brother, but this practice has been given up in deference to the wishes of the missionary, who encourages, while not enforcing, monogamy. It is now becoming customary for a widow not to marry again, but if a man loses his wife he usually takes another.

765 302 178 [587 797]

Fate of the soul

I was told by one of the principal men of the village that in the olden times they thought the spirit (*abiap* in the Petats dialect, equivalent to the Kurtatchi *abin*, not to *urar* which is represented by *amat*) of the dead man came out of the hole where he was buried and came back and stayed in his house, so they destroyed the house and by this means destroyed the *abiap*. The dead man's coco-nut palms and other property were also destroyed. Now the mission has taught them to believe that the *abiap* 'goes up on top' and does not come back.

775 768 [797]

It is thought that the *abiap* goes about looking for the person who had poisoned him. When it has found him it tells him: 'You poisoned me, you will die soon.' Soon after the man dies, and the people know it was he who poisoned the other man. This belief appears to be held still, though it is no longer customary, as in the olden days, to put a piece of bamboo through the wall of the house and question it as to who was responsible for the death. It was supposed to move about and thus to indicate the answer. They say it does not work at Petats any more, but assert that it still acts at Lontis.

775 761 178

Disposal of the dead man's possessions

In the case of Tsirisia, his pigs had been eaten by his relatives during his illness, at his own request. No further destruction of

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thrown into the sea with the body. But his pillow remains behind in the house; a special feast is made for it at a later time, perhaps two or three years after, when it is burnt, with spears and other things, and pig is cooked on the fire. The widow stays in the house while the man is being buried, together with the young girls. The men and the old women of the village go to the graveyard. The widow continues to wail all that day, after the others have ceased. She must not eat till her husband 'is gone out of her sight'.

If the wife was very fond of her husband, she may request that his body be buried in the house. Sometimes the body is kept thus for a time and then the bones are taken up and buried in the graveyard, sometimes it stays in the house where it was first buried.

After the burial, whether in the house or in the graveyard, the front verandah (*tagoan*, the men's side) is closed up with coco-nut leaves, and the bush is left to grow up round it. The man's wives, and his mother if she is alive, stop inside the house, and are looked after by the other women of the village. They put black paint (*tʃina*) on their bodies which they must smear all over. They cut their hair short when they first go into seclusion; it is left to grow while they are shut up.

While they remain in the house the women make special belts (*ʃaʃ*) (see Pl. 75 and Chap. XI, p. 436) with an intricately woven pattern of several colours. If the deceased is a person of rank they must make enough belts for every man and woman of the village to wear. This sometimes takes as long as eight or ten months (for a commoner two or three months is enough). The women remain shut up all this time. The bush grows up round the house, so that it is scarcely seen, and the pigs defile the front verandah.

When enough belts have been made, a time is fixed for the women to come out. Then men clear a path to their taro gardens which have been looked after meanwhile by their friends. They put on more *tʃina*, but are not allowed to use *oin* (red paint). They put on the belts. The men take spears, and give each woman two arrows (*anay*) set with bones of the flying fox. They come out holding these. They go round to the front of the house and break the fence of coco-nut leaves round the front verandah. This is done in the early morning. They go back to their own side of the house (*babots*), and stay a little while, then they go to the taro garden. They must plant some taro in a special corner of the garden (*wanib*). When they have finished they take off the belts,

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765 man's spirit is ashamed. In that case the *ta'un* plant is pulled up
775 and thrown away. But if it bends it is taken up and put on to a
824 man's shoulders. If it is a woman who has died her hood is put on the top of the plant, on the man's shoulders. It is felt by the man carrying it to be heavy. When he gets tired he calls out and another man takes it from him. Perhaps it will suddenly cease to be heavy. This means that the spirit has gone to relieve himself. Then the man carrying it stands still and waits till he feels it to be heavy again, then he calls out and they all go on again.

When they get back to the village they all go into their own houses and fasten the doors and remain silent. The man carrying the *ta'un* goes straight to the front of the dead person's house and enters it and plants the *ta'un* inside the house. Then the dead person's spirit stays inside the house.

765 From this time until the ceremony for the removal of the belts,
515 all the people of the village must refrain from washing themselves,
302 from cutting their hair, and from the use of red paint on their heads and bodies. This applies to children as well as to adults.

765 On the following day, all the men and women who wear the belts go and wash their legs in the sea. They take a tree with many branches and set it up on the shore, fixing it in the sand. Then the women go and search for shell-fish on the reef, wailing the wail for the dead the while. They must catch a large quantity of shell-fish. The men sit down on the beach, or they may, if they like, go and catch fish with nets.

When enough shell-fish have been collected they make a fire on the beach, and make it flare up. They call upon the *urar*, and say: '*Tamu sen en ia, so bai'i gag, ner wopots no in ta tamu.*' ('Here is your taro, eat it, then the children can drink, and will grow strong because of the taro.') Then some taro is put on the fire. They all take their lime-pots with lime in them, and walk round the fire holding them in their hands, then they tap on the lime-pots, take out some lime, and put it in their ears. The belts are now taken down from the branches of the tree and put on again. The shell-fish are put into baskets and the women take them back to the village and cook them. The women eat the shell-fish at the back
[264] verandah. If the men have caught any fish they cook it for themselves at the front verandah. If they have plenty they send some to the women, if they have none the women send them some shell-fish.

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765 The period of seclusion for the women is now finished, they may go to the taro garden, go fishing, and take up their ordinary life. The belts are still worn. If it rains they are taken off and covered up: it would be a very bad thing for the rain to wash the dirt off them.

765 When it is time to remove the belts a big feast is made. This is
574 called *wakuruts mɔ*. The time is fixed by the person who is now
tsunaun, and depends very largely upon the quantity of food
527 available. People come from all the villages round, even for a long distance, all the people who came to wail at the funeral. If they wish they may bring pig and taro to help the dead person's relatives, who go some distance to meet the visitors and bring in the pigs. The feast lasts for one day only. The next day the belts are taken off, a big basket (*bōna*, the kind used by the women in collecting shell-fish) is filled with them. All the people must take off their belts at the same time. The belts are washed before they are put into the basket. Leaves of a variegated plant called *ɔ̄ts* are fixed to the basket and it is fastened up with them. Stones are then piled into the basket and it is thrown away into the sea. (But after the practice of interment at sea was given up and burial in the ground took its place, the basket of belts was burnt instead.)

765 Then all the people cut their hair and put red paint on their hair
302 and round their eyes. They clean up the village, and sound the slit-gong. The taboo is finished. The widow is now free to marry again.[1]

House-burial

766 An instance of the burial of a body in the dwelling-house came under my personal observation at Kurtatchi.[2] Krapen, husband of Wakos, had died some time before my arrival—the exact interval I could not ascertain, but I think it was probably less than a year. His wife, who was very much attached to him, desired that he should be buried in the house, and this was done. At the time of my arrival, the huts of the old village of Gomen were all being

[1] It is exceedingly difficult to obtain from these people even an approximate estimate of time, but the whole period of mourning appears to have occupied at least as much as a year.

[2] At the time of my residence at Petats I was unaware of this custom. I subsequently inquired whether it was ever done there, and was informed that in the past babies used sometimes to be buried inside the house; I could not learn of any cases of adults being so disposed of.

a respectful distance. After the feast has ended the parents of the Matasesên give the Marau presents consisting of two or three strings of biruan, spears, bows, arrows and other effects. At the festival place the hassebôu are [12] taken off the youths and burned, and there likewise the long locks of the Matasesên are cut off, but then tied up in leaves in a bundle and kept in their huts. As a rule one long lock is left on the nape, which is decorated at the end with beads or a shell. After the haircutting the Marau take their Matasesên back into their home villages, and this in turn is again the occasion for further festivities. When they come back a tall post or mast is erected on an open spot in the village; this mast, which is decorated with foliage and painted, is climbed by a Marau. From the top he calls the Matasesên by the names by which they are to be known in the future; the old name is forgotten. This mast is called kukun a solo; after the name giving it is removed, chopped up, and burned. After the rukruk festivity has been completed, the Matasesên can choose a wife. They are considered adults and take part in all festivities of the men. A comparison of the rukruk of the Solomon Islanders with the dukduk of the Gazelle Peninsula forces itself spontaneously upon one. It is not only the name that leads to such a comparison. In the dukduk a special festival place, the tareiu, is set aside for the participants, as in the rukruk the tâlohu--two words which, in view of the otherwise very different languages, have the greatest similarity. The exclusion of women from all festivities at the festival place is common to both and likewise the pretense that the participants commune with spirits at the festival place. The female spirit Ruk a tzon [sic] corresponds to Tubuvan of dukduk, who is conceived as female; the male spirit Ruk a tahol corresponds to the male dukduk. The frightening of women -- in Bougainville by the Matasesên and in Buka by the Kokorra--and the appropriation of the objects thrown away by the frightened women is the same in both places, and likewise the slaying of women if they accidentally discover any of the secrets of rukruk and dukduk. The burning of the hassebôu and the burning of the garments and masks used in dukduk is a further common characteristic. If we were better acquainted with rukruk, then far more similarities could probably be found. It is easily comprehensible that different characteristics developed in the course of time among the two tribes as a result of their isolation from each other. The inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsula, who to a far greater extent than the Solomon Islanders have the need

a dull sound. The song is sung softly by all the singers, the tempo is slow like a slow march, and the step is accordingly slow with slightly bent knees. Men as well as women take part in this performance. 533 535 852

In Buka and north Bougainville I have seen other dances with very elegant steps performed--both by one sex alone as well as by both together. The dancers stand in rows, sometimes in couples next to each other and sometimes in rows opposite each other; the movements consisted of delicate steps (especially the female dancers gave an astonishing performance) as well as knee bends, twistings and undulations of the hips, and slow movements of the arms. These dances could very well be executed in a European ballroom, only I fear that few people would subject themselves to the effort of practicing them. Dances of this sort can only be executed by people who, like the Solomon Islanders, practice and study almost daily, from youth on, the complicated steps with the most varied bodily movements. Flower and foliage garlands around various parts of the body, flower bouquets in the hands and painting of the body red and white go along with these dances. The song that accompanies these dances is always soft and subdued; unfortunately I was not able to get hold of and write down the melody. 535 [302]

On the Shortland Islands I wrote down a few melodies but unfortunately not the words. They are the following: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] Both melodies were sung in harmony. At the same time the singers walked around in a circle at a rather rapid march tempo; even half-grown children took part in it, and the [17] high children's voices in conjunction with the deeper accompanying voices of the adults produced a very harmonious song which sounded nice even to a European ear. 533 171

When the men go to sea in their large boats, they generally begin singing the previously-mentioned song consisting of 'o' and 'a'; for this same simple text there are still other melodies, which are sung on this occasion. The shovel-shaped oars are dipped into the water in rhythm with the song, sometimes faster and sometimes slower according to the tempo. 533

not unlike our scale-chains [Schuppenketten: A part of the German parade uniform. ed.] --is wound around the wrist. 301

Leg ornaments are seldom worn. On Bougainville I have occasionally observed rattan bands that were bound tightly around the ankles and that were sometimes dyed red; these rings are woven around the ankle and cannot be removed.

For toilet purposes a comb is used or, more properly speaking, an instrument for scratching the hair. Sometimes this instrument consists of a single, thin, pointed piece of wood, and sometimes it has from two to five teeth. Bamboo is the material normally used, but in south Bougainville they make them with greater care. There the upper end is often neatly woven for about 4 to 6 centimeters with variously colored bast fibers. The owner of a comb like this sticks it into his thick woolly tuft and, when he has the time and opportunity he scratches his hairdo into place. I wish to observe here also that the islanders do not treat their hair with lime; only on festive [22] occasions do they dye their hair with various pigments pulverized in oil. Red, green and white are the favorite colors, and by means of these various patterns are produced. The same colors serve also for the beautification of the body: burned ochre supplies the material for the red streaks around the eyes and mouth or for dyeing the external ear red; white is less common and is for the most part customary only for certain mourning ceremonies. 302 [384]

Money

436 [71]

In Buka and northern Bougainville, as well as on the Carteret and Nissan Islands, three different types of money are to be found, of which two are characteristic for this region. Almost all the types of money that I have seen in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands consist of shells worked to a greater or lesser extent; in the northwest part of the Solomon group the current money is made of animal teeth. The generic term for it is ulihu, but it is divided into two types, called reki and baiu: reki consists of the teeth of a type of bat; baiu, on the other hand, is made from the teeth of dolphins. A string of reki has about 300 teeth and is about 110 centimeters long, whereas the baiu strings consist of about 500 teeth and are 3 meters long; however, they are of equal value. All the teeth are bored through at the root and strung on a thin thread. The teeth are

535 The Buka dance or *guma* is an uninteresting spectacle. Unlike other Melanesian dances there is very little action and the [539] accompanying singing is but a constant repetition of "O-a-o-a" in as many keys as the human voice is capable of rendering. The men walk slowly around in a circle while the women, standing some ten yards away, advance to the edge of the circle from time to time and in pairs bend their bodies backwards and forwards, or in threes and fours skip sideways to and fro. From a distance the singing is often harmonious, but when heard at close quarters it is both ear-splitting and appalling to a musical listener.

[534] The singing is accompanied by the beating of the hollowed-out 202 wooden drums (*tui*) with series of short staccato raps from the soft-nosed beaters. These *tui* can be heard for many miles when weather conditions are favourable and are used extensively for signalling. Some of the Buka districts have elaborate *tui* codes, and are able to send detailed messages from village to village. Among the more [763] simplified signals is that denoting a death and is made by ten long beats, pause, three short, pause, three short, pause, five short, pause, five short, pause, and ten long. When a man is annoyed over something (his wife has failed to cook the taro, or a pig has died) and he wishes to "tell the world" he raps out ten long beats, a pause, then another ten long beats. The arrival of a stranger in a village is denoted by three long beats, pause, followed by three series of seven short beats interspersed with pauses. The general call to assemble in a village is three series of three shorts and one long beat.

302 The men usually wear their hair long and combed upright. [846] The hair of a woman is close-cropped, except when she has given birth to a child and then it is allowed to grow long until the child is able to crawl about. The women wear a hood made from pandanus 291 leaves sewn horizontally together, with every other leaf dyed red 386 with the root of a bush. This custom is to prevent certain of their male relatives from seeing their hair, which is taboo. A loin cloth 291 of red or coloured print serves as the general garment for both sexes. 177 A few years ago the women wore a small grass *tahu*, and in former days the men wore no covering.